THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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WOMEN IN TRADE UNIONS: By G. D. H. Cole

In view of the coming passage into law of the Representation of the People Bill, the prophets are busy forecasting the way the women will vote. Women's organisations on all sides are preparing for a campaign of political education and propaganda, and all of them are proclaiming very loudly that the women of this country will vote their way. I confess that I do not know, and that I do not think any one can know, which way women will vote; but of this I am sure—they will find that their political power is subject to the same laws as have governed masculine politics in the past.

What are these laws? The first and clearest of them is that the effective use of political power depends on the possession of economic power. The male section of Labour has only won its triumphs and averted its defeats because it has had behind it the organised strength of the Trade Union Movement. The series of articles in *The Times* a week or so ago on the 'Ferment of Revolution' showed clearly that the governing class is only afraid of Labour when Labour is strongly organised on economic lines.

If, then, women are to make their newly won political power a substance rather than a shadow, they must follow the example of *some* of the men, and organise strongly on economic lines. Housewives must join themselves together in a great organisation of consumers, and, above all, wage-earning women must unite in strong Trade Unions.

Here, however, arises a wider problem. Women want economic and political power; but they want it, not against the men, but in conjunction with the men. As wage-earners, women have indeed distinctive interests for which they must find special means of expression, but their interests are few and unimportant in comparison with the great solidarity which binds together both sexes in the fraternity of toil. Women must organise on economic lines; but they must organise not against the men, but with them. Otherwise, a labour war between the sexes will afford to the employers their best opportunity of forcing down wages and establishing more firmly than ever the *regime* of exploitation.

Men and women in industry have little interests that diverge; but they have a great interest that is common to them all. Both industrially and politically, Labour must build up an organisation in which men and women can play an equal part, and find an equal expression for their point of view and their outlook on life. Politically, this involves a recasting of the Labour Party on a broader basis of organisation, and there are signs that this work of re-creation is being taken seriously in hand. Industrially, what is wanted is a new Trade Unionism, free from the old sex prejudices, and based firmly on the principle of a common solidarity.

The old Unions must open their ranks to women, and must sweep away all barriers that rest solely upon sex. At the same time, men and women must fight side by side to establish the principle of equal rates of pay for both sexes, and must not allow, on any pretext advanced by a false kind of feminism, reductions in the rates of pay which will in the long run damage men and women alike. Some women now, in fear of unemployment after the war, are crying out that women must be retained in industry after the war, even at the cost of lower rates of pay than those received by men. Needless to say, such "feminists" do not belong to the working class. The working woman knows well that an injury to one is an injury to all, and that a fall in men's rates means penury for countless wives and children.

The Craft Unions are to blame because they have not frankly faced the problem of women's labour, and worked out as between men and women, and skilled and unskilled, a common policy for the period after the war. Sooner or later they will have to do this; and the sooner the better. Otherwise both parties may find themselves plunged into a sex conflict which neither desires, and which can only redound to the benefit of the capitalist class.

With demobilisation will come the real difficulty. Women will be discharged from war work, and big efforts will be made to re-employ them at starvation rates. The women will be forced in many cases by economic pressure to take what they can get; the men Trade Unionists will resist their employment at less than established rates; and unless we have laid our plans beforehand, the sex conflict will be in full swing.

What, then, are the remedies? They can be simply stated. First, the efforts to organise women in Trade Unions must be redoubled, and there must be far more backing for them from men Trade Unionists in the shops. Secondly, there must be a real attempt on the part of the leaders of the Craft Unions, the general Labour Unions, and the Women's Unions, both nationally and locally, to reach a common agreement on after-war policy. Thirdly, the Government must be compelled, by pressure from the whole of organised Labour, to make such provision for discharged war workers after the war as will effectively prevent any woman from being forced to blackleg on her fellows by taking a job at less than the standard rate. All these things can be secured if Labour wants them. It is for women now to organise, and to see that Labour takes the necessary steps.

Of Special Interest This Week!

THE HOUSE AND THE HOUSEWIFE

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

WHAT HAPPENED TO LAST WEEK'S DREADNOUGHT

WAR AND THE SCHOOLS.

The Annual Report of the Chief Medical Inspector to the Board of Education presents to us the spectacle of devoted scientists and educationalists finding their efforts to cope with the problem of child nurture and training arrested at every turn by evil social conditions and official economies, which are in reality not economies but gross extravagances, because they are wasteful of child energy, the most precious national asset.

MEDICAL INSPECTION.

Sir George Newman, in his Report, lays down as an irreducible minimum various requirements. Let us see how these are met. The first is:—

"That every child shall periodically come under direct medical and dental supervision, and if found defective shall be followed up."

Sir George Newman told the nation a year ago that on a moderate computation, not less than a million children of school age were so physically or mentally defective or diseased as to be "unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides." Since 1915 the system of inspection which Sir George Newman lays down as the irreducible minimum has been largely abandoned, and the inspection of all elementary school children coming within the three age groups prescribed by the Code, has been replaced by the inspection of ailing children. School medical officers, assistant medical officers, and nurses have been called to the war, consequently the children have had to suffer! In normal times elementary school children are examined when first admitted to the school and between the ages of 8 and 9 and 12 and 13, but in the secondary schools they are examined annually. Such a distinction is discreditably snobbish and shortsighted. Because of the war the secondary school children are examined biennially. The normal proportion of elementary school children medically examined is small: upwards of 2,000,000. In 1915-16 it had fallen to 1,446,448 out of 5,306,411.

MALNUTRITION AND SCHOOL FEEDING.

Sir George Newman's second stipulation is:—

"That every child found mal-nourished shall, somehow or other, be nourished, and every child found verminous shall, somehow or other, be cleansed."

But Sir George Newman tells us that though 10 per cent (about 600,000) of the children are so ill-nourished as to be unable to derive benefit from school attendance, nevertheless, in the year 1916-17, only 63,939 received meals at school. This is a striking revelation of the cheeseparing way in which school feeding is carried on. The number of children fed at school during the last five years was as follows:—

1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-1916.	1916-17
358,306	156,531	422,401	117,901	63,939

Why are the numbers so small, since poverty and want are so extensive? Why have the numbers decreased? The numbers are undoubtedly kept down by the attitude of members of the Local Education Authorities and Care Committees, who grant the meals in a grudging spirit and cause the parents to feel humiliated by accepting them. Moreover, bills are often sent to the parents demanding payment for meals which were granted as free. Therefore, school feeding is disliked by most of the parents and only resorted to in times of extreme want. At the outbreak of war every one was talking of schemes for relieving unemployment and, though no great generosity was displayed towards those who were in need, the prevailing fear of "undermining parental responsibility and of encouraging the work-shy was somewhat allayed. Therefore, for the time being school meals were granted more readily than usual. But now it is the fashion to say that the working classes are doing well, that wages are high, and every one who wishes to be so is fully employed. School feeding has therefore decreased to its lowest ebb, though 600,000 school children are partially starved.

The following table showing the relative condition as to nutrition in Lewisham, a middle-class suburb, and in Bethnal Green, a typical industrial tenement district, shows clearly how poverty affects the child:—

	Younger Boys.			Younger Girls.		
	Good.	Fair.	Poor.	Good.	Fair.	Poor.
Lewisham	67·1	30·0	2·9	67.6	29·8	2·6
Bethnal Green ..	9·0	68·	22·6	8·0	72·2	19·8

	Older Boys.			Older Girls.		
	Good.	Fair.	Poor.	Good.	Fair.	Poor.
Lewisham	73·2	24·2	2·6	73·3	23·7	3·0
Bethnal Green ..	7·9	68·7	23·4	11·7	69·9	18·4

SCABIES.

Every child must be cleansed, says Sir George Newman, but he reports that 10 per cent of the school children throughout the country are so lacking in cleanliness that they cannot derive full benefit from their schooling, and that in London 25 per cent of the children were reported as unclean in 1916. There has been a great increase of scabies amongst the children who have been infected with this dirt disease by soldiers returning from the trenches. Dr. Hamer reports that in London 2,154 children were dealt with for scabies at the cleansing station in 1915-16, and 3,213 in 1916-17. There is a shortage of accommodation at the baths, and these are too far away for the children from some districts, so that the average length of absence from school due to scabies is 9.7 weeks. Dr. Fosbroke of Worcester, desiring to see the disease cured more rapidly, suggests that parents should be prosecuted if the disease lasts more than a month. We think that those who caused scabies to be brought to the homes, and those who have failed to provide proper means of treatment, should be punished rather than the parents.

EYE STRAIN.

Sir George Newman also urges:—

"That the school environment and the means of education shall be such as can in no case exert unfavourable or injurious influences upon the health, growth, and development of the child."

This would seem hardly to need saying, but the Report shows that at least in regard to the children's eye-sight, the school arrangements are highly injurious in many cases:—

"The great majority of children enter the schools with normal vision, but owing in large measure, to the defective conditions under which instruction is given that number is seriously diminished in the course of a few years. School medical officers frequently refer to two of the causes, that of defective lighting of the schoolroom and the near distance work

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EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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THE HOUSE AND THE HOUSEWIFE.

THE Report of the Industrial Unrest Commissioners for South Wales asserts that the fact of there being fewer women than men there "tends to increase the economic dependence of the women in the mining community."

This curious statement springs from the same misconception of real values which causes people to say that the miners are dependent on the mineowner, whereas, in truth, exactly the reverse is the case. The mineowner enjoys affluence because of the miners' toil. Just so the men of the mining community are dependent upon the women who cook their meals, wash their clothes, and clean their homes. Not merely their comfort, but their earning capacity is increased by the labour of these women, and the fewer housewives there are, the greater is the relative dependence upon them of the people who do not do housework, and the more work there is for the housewife to do. The South Wales miners are probably the most highly organised body of workers in the world; their wives take a smaller part in the workers' movement than the women of many other districts. This is largely because they are overworked. The miners have an eight-hour day. Very wisely they are now agitating for a six-hour working day and a five-day working week, but the housewife's work is never done, and in the mining valleys it is rendered specially arduous.

From the high hill-tops in the sunshine one looks down into the smoky valleys, there are the mines and their machinery, the by-product plants, and the great heaps of coal-dust and refuse from the mines, and the little houses of the workers huddled together on whatever space the business of mining may have left for them. The sheep cropping the short grass are roaming freely over the mountains, but if the workers and their children venture to stray from the narrow paths they are frightened off at the instance of the lords of the mine. Down in the valleys the density of population is tremendous, varying in the small area actually built upon there are from 20,000 to upwards of 26,000* people per square mile, as the following table shows:—

Locality.	Persons per sq. mile in area built upon.
Rhondda-Fach, Ynyshir, Tylorstown, Ferndale and Mardy	26,240
Pentre Ton, Gelli, and Ystrad	25,600
Llwynypia, Clydach Vale, Tonypandy, and Trealaw	23,296
Porth, Cymmer, and Hafod	23,040
Treherbert, Treorchy, and Cwmparc ..	20,480
Rhondda Urban District (including small portions not in above)..	23,680

It was officially estimated before the war that there was a shortage of 40,000 to 50,000 houses, and as official estimates of what is necessary for the workers are not generous it was probably much greater.

The smoke from the tall mine chimneys fills the lungs; it also makes more work for the housewife. From the great heaps of coal-dust and rubbish from the mines, which approach in height the very hills themselves, clouds of dust rise in windy weather, that adds to the housewife's load of toil.

Sometimes these dust heaps cause more than house cleaning, for an avalanche from them engulfs some of the houses. Landslides and subsidences, caused by mining under the villages, also occur, and cracks and leakages in walls and roofs from the same cause are common.

As a general rule there are no fitted baths in the houses, all the water for washing and cleaning must be boiled on the kitchen fire. The miners come home from work black from head to foot, it is for the wife to get the bath ready. In some households there are a husband and sons or a husband and brothers working on three different shifts, the housewife must therefore prepare baths and meals at three different times.

The children are playing in the gutter outside. There is no park or playground for them; their faces are almost as black as those of their collier fathers; their clothes are soon dirty and often torn by sliding down the steep sides of the rubbish heaps. There is not only much work, but much anxiety also for the mother, her husband's livelihood is a perilous one, her children face many dangers. The edge of the quarry is left unfenced. Houses are built within a few feet of sheer precipices. The mining district is regarded as a place for money making, the fact that people live and rear their children there does not appear to count.

At the best the houses are small and ugly, at worst they are unfit for cattle. In old districts like Merthyr and Dowlais, back to back houses, and, worse still, top and bottom houses are common. The top house, or upper half of the building is entered from an upper street and the bottom house from a street lower down. The back of the bottom house is built up against the earth; it is always damp, water oozes through it, even pours down it at every rainfall. In some parts the houses are built on the shady side of the hills and the sun never shines upon them.

If the directors and shareholders of the mining companies had been forced to live with their families amongst the miners, or if the mining industry had been managed by the workers in it, the mining communities would not have been housed as they are and the surroundings would have been different. Either the houses would have been placed far away from the mines, or the rubbish tips would not have been piled up as they are. Some method would have been discovered by which the refuse could be tipped in the disused workings, or some other means of dealing with them would have been found.

But there is no reason why the workers' houses should be huddled around the mines. The mine-field is only 18 miles across at its widest point, and one need not go outside that area to find wide stretches of verdant country. Free railways could swiftly take the workers on to the neighbouring hill-tops, or away into greener fields.

It is never too late to mend. When is the mending process to begin in the South Wales mining valleys and in the dismal little streets which surround our editorial office?

"What do you expect in a model house?" someone asks us. A moment's thought conjures up a number of requirements which should be considered essential to every home, but in which almost every working-class home is lacking. Each adult member is surely entitled to at least one room of his or her own (and whoever works or studies all day at home should have two rooms). There should be a place to sit in, a place to meet friends in, a place to read and be quiet in, a place out of doors where the children can play in fine warm weather, and a place indoors for wet, cold weather, furnished with toys and childish things. These are essential, but the problem of cleaning and tidying must be taken into account, for the housewife must not be an overworked slave.

Co-operation can overcome many difficulties. Imagine a street of thirty houses, most of which are tenanted by families consisting of a mother and father and five children. Suppose that each house contains a large kitchen, a small scullery, sitting-room, and two smaller sitting-rooms, a covered verandah (not built, as verandahs usually are, in front of the only windows letting light into one or two of the rooms); also four bedrooms, if the children are still very young, with the possibility of building three more over the verandah and scullery as the family grows older.

Each house has its own garden, which opens on to a strip of common ground at the back. Here is a general wash-house, with a clothes boiler, clothes washing-basin, and drainer, artificial drying cupboard, and mangle for each family. There is also a common playroom for the children. A common furnace provides steam heating for this playroom, hot water for the wash-house and for the thirty houses. Every room in every house contains an inconspicuous steam radiator, like that used in modern hotels, which may be turned on or off as the occupant desires, and is supplied from the same common furnace without extra cost. Each room, of course, contains also an open fireplace for those who like coal fires. Not too far away, but convenient perhaps for a hundred houses (for at least at first, many households may not use it) is a communal restaurant. Here families may choose what they like from the tariff, or may give their order for special food to be cooked for them, or, buying the uncooked food for themselves, may bring it to be cooked. Such a system is already in force in the flats at Clement's Inn, London, W.C., for the benefit of the well-to-do. The food at our imaginary communal kitchens may be eaten on the premises or taken home, and, according to the temperament of the group of householders or the number to be catered for, there may be a special restaurant staff or the housewives may take turns to do restaurant work.

Periodical meetings of those who use these various facilities supply further details. A reading-room containing daily and weekly papers is probably added and there may be books on loan from a central circulating library.

The houses, not jerry-built and loaded with work-making knick-knackery, are well designed and strongly built. They are simply but comfortably furnished and decorated, if at all, only with a few really beautiful objects. In Oberammergau, the home of the Passion Play, the inhabitants subscribe to an art club through which they buy or borrow reproductions of the world's finest pictures. These they hang in their houses or copy in fresco on the outer walls.

In our model houses there will be plenty of roomy cupboards and all the best modern labour-saving devices, including a first-rate vacuum cleaner for the use of the thirty houses.

Conveniently situated for a suitable number of houses is the mothers' institute, where a doctor and nurse attend for infant consultations and baby weighing, where Montessori teaching is provided for children from 2 to 7 years. The Montessori method is in harmony with the co-operative spirit. It teaches the little students independence and helpfulness in the daily things of life and lays a foundation which will free them from the need either for a retinue of servants or for one patient slave to tidy after them and coddle them at every turn.

If the mothers choose they may attend lectures at the institute on child nurture and training, cookery and domestic science, or such subjects as political history and economics, as taught by the Central Labour College, discussions, concerts, or anything else they desire. The advantage of having the lectures for the mothers and the classes for the children at the same time is obvious.

As the habit of co-operation becomes established, a growing number of families arranges to have all their bigger meals in the restaurant, the housewives take turns to do the washing, cooking, or cleaning for the little community, or those who are specialists in any particular branch of household economy undertake that for their neighbours, who in turn relieve them of other tasks. All are willing to lend a hand at whatever is going forward, and those who have already spent the usual number of working hours in household labour will be least called on for further service at the end of the day.

Individual fancy and experience will suggest further developments of such schemes, but they are castles in the air. When and how will a beginning be made towards securing any of them? The first step is for a group of housewives to desire improvements and to decide to act in combination to secure them. Having done so, they may proceed on two lines of action; they may press the Government and the Local Authority to supply communal institutions on the one hand, and on the other they may endeavour to secure the adoption of such a scheme as an independent working-class co-operative venture, by no means a revolutionary method. Already some of the co-operative societies own houses, as well as shops, and working-men's building clubs have long existed.

Those who believe that Parliament and Local Government as we know them to-day are destined to disappear and will be replaced by the industrial organisations of the workers will probably have most faith in what can be achieved by the co-operative effort of the workers themselves. The co-operative plan has the advantage of avoiding the necessity for moving the far-off personages who man Government departments. Those who believe that the existing political institutions will persist and should be captured by the workers will endeavour to secure the provision of housing and communal facilities by the municipality. But each line of action will in this case help the other. The South Wales Miners' Federation, for instance, might decide to establish in one district a mothers' institute and communal housing scheme, such as we have described. The project would be costly, but less so than the contributions made by the miners to the Prince of Wales's Fund, in the administration of which they had no real voice. If as soon as the plans for its own model scheme were under weigh, every lodge of the Miners' Federation were to demand, with all the pressure which the Federation is so well able to apply, either that every municipality in Wales adopt a similar scheme, or that wages be raised in order that the miners might pay out of their wages for their own housing scheme in every district, results would be obtained.

But this is a woman's question. Such an effort will probably have to wait till the South Wales Miners' wives, or some other wives, bring it to pass through an organisation of their own.

Ah! but someone begins to prove that the workers cannot afford to live in such houses. "The purchase price of the land, the interest on the capital, and so on."

But the workers cannot afford to remain overcrowded and uncomfortable, and if the present system cannot provide them with suitable houses, that is but another reason for working to secure Socialism!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

* These figures are taken from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Unrest, 1917.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

HAIL THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

We welcomed the Russian Revolution with wholehearted rejoicing, and with equal fervour we now hope to welcome the German Revolution. In Russia strike followed strike, mutiny followed mutiny for months before the actual Revolution came to pass. These outbreaks were "hushed up" as far as possible, and little news of them appeared in this country, but from time to time *The Dreadnought* was able to furnish its readers with important information from Russian sources which manifested the trend of events. For some time past every newspaper has been giving news of extensive popular unrest in Germany, and though some time may elapse before that unrest comes to a head there now seems good reason to hope that the German Revolution may not long be delayed, though the events now made known transpired some time ago. When the Russians achieved their Revolution we at once formed the opinion that the people of Germany would be the next to follow, and our opinion remains unaltered. It is natural that the German should follow the Russian Revolution, because the people of Germany were induced to support the war by the threat of being thrust under the barbarous dominion of the Czar. Since the Czar's dethronement the German war-mongers have sought to terrorise the German people by threats of what would happen to them if the Allies were to win. But the spell has lost its potency; the German workers are beginning to realise that by the continuance of the war they lose their all. We wish them well in their struggle for freedom and for peace, and for a higher and juster form of civilisation. But if the German people succeed in their Revolution, and whilst Germany is convulsed by the conflict between the new ideals and the old, what will be the policy of the Allied Governments? It would be outrageous to strike at the young German democracy, striving in its birth-throes towards the ideal set by the Russian Revolution: "*No annexations. No indemnities. The right of the people to decide their own destiny*"? Mr. Lloyd George and other members of the British and Allied Governments have declared that their quarrel is with the German autocracy and that they desire to see the establishment of a German democracy. Now is their chance to prove the genuineness of their words. Let them extend the hand of friendship to the German revolutionaries and announce that they are prepared to enter with them into the fellowship of nations on the Russian peace terms. The peoples of the Allied countries must declare with unmistakable voice that this is their will which must not be disobeyed. We trust that the people of Britain will now show that popular freedom anywhere and everywhere is as dear to them as it is to either Russians or Germans.

In spite of all set-backs we are assuredly moving on towards the establishment of a world confederation of Socialist republics. Our hope for a speedy peace now runs high; may it be the people's peace, which is more important than any victory. The demand for *No Annexations*; *No Indemnities*; *the Right of the Peoples to Decide their Own Destiny* is now practical politics, and every ounce of political and industrial influence should be exerted in its support.

RUSSIA.

The Maximalists are evidently gaining strength in the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates a proof that their power is also growing, in spite of the fact that they have not secured the government they desire and that the Democratic Conference is not composed as they would wish. The elections for the Constituent Assembly have been delayed again and again, but it seems to us that the mass of people in Russia should demand the holding of these elections, in which all will have a voice instead of the creation of a Democratic Conference, by the various groups of wirepullers. "Trust the people" is, in the ultimate resort, the only satisfactory motto. We are glad to learn that the courage and perseverance of Finland is to be rewarded by the creation of the long desired Finnish Republic. We have to congratulate both big Russia and little Finland on this desirable ending of the strife.

NATIONAL SERVICE AND INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

Sir Auckland Geddes, at Edinburgh on October 4th, said that he would be "no party to any policy which would have for its end the introduction of industrial conscription." But he went on to outline a scheme which seems to us to differ from industrial conscription only in name. He said that the demands for men of the Army, Ministry of Munitions, and Board of Agriculture would be "treated exactly in the same way," and that his department had made arrangements to transfer men from civil work not of primary national importance and from the Army, Navy, and Air Services to work which is held to be of national importance. We ask: (1) Whether soldiers are to be released from the Services, whether they will or no, to undertake work in the choice of which they will have no voice; (2) whether men are to be exempted from military service on condition that they enrol as volunteers, binding themselves to perform any specified work for any specified employer which the Government may direct? If so the scheme seems to us to embody a very complete form of industrial conscription. But we are of opinion that any State scheme of industrial service which is combined with military conscription, must necessarily savour of industrial conscription.

The Restricted Occupations Order is now cancelled. Sir Auckland Geddes explained that it bore hardly upon patriotic employers and that an army of inspectors would be required to enforce it. That is a complaint which could be made with justice against many other Orders!

THE POPE'S PEACE EFFORT.

Many people have not fully realised that the Pope has informed the Allied Governments that the German and Austrian Foreign Ministers have declared Germany's willingness to evacuate France and Belgium and Austria's readiness to make concessions to Italy. The Pope has asked the Allies whether they desire him to address further questions to the Central Powers; he thus offers to act as mediator. We welcome the Pope's effort, but we should prefer an international conference of the peoples to discuss peace terms.

COERCION.

The Manchester Guardian states that the Ministry of National Service may seek further powers in order to prevent the development of the I.W.W. movement, on the ground that it is opposed to recruiting. *The Times* of October 6th contains an attack on the I.L.P., B.S.P., U.D.C., and N.C.F. on the same ground. The arrest of Private Simmons for taking part in political meetings is another instance. We would warn the Government that whilst coercive action towards political opponents, which could not be attempted with impunity in peace time, may be carried out successfully now, a day of reckoning is certain to come later on. The Government will be ill-advised if it yields to the importunities of the extreme reactionaries in this matter.

In Germany also the extremist Jingoes demand the coercion of pacifists. Herr Dittman, Independent Socialist, complained, in the Reichstag on October 9th, that members of the Independent Socialist Party and the friends of "a peace by understanding" were put in prison and their propaganda declared to be high treason. In all lands the extremist Jingoes appear able to attack Governments with impunity, and the German Socialists allege that public money has been spent in subsidising the propaganda of the Pan-German Jingoes both in the army and amongst the civil population.

WAR AND THE SCHOOLS—(*continued from front page*).

of the children in reading, sewing and hand-work. No child should do work on objects nearer than 10 inches from the eye and an even longer distance is desirable. Children under 6 years of age should not, as a rule, be set to sewing or ordinary book or desk work."

Dr. Shore of Walsall, referring to one of the schools of the district, says:—

"Bath Street is a veritable manufactory of eye defects....In connection with sewing lessons, one of our teachers was good enough to adopt coarse thread of a greenish hue and a dark green material. The school medical officer found children learn to sew quite quickly and without the eye strain so common in children who use fine thread and a highly refracting material....Very coarse needles do not answer well, as they require too much driving power from the child. The headmistress extended the idea to knitting by using very large wood knitting needles. Good results accrued very much earlier than heretofore and children greatly enjoyed their knitting."

Sir George Newman further states that myopia, or "short sight," is never, or hardly ever, present at birth and is rare at 5 years of age; it begins during school-life and is most common amongst studious children.

CHILD LABOUR.

He further urges:—

"that no child of school age shall be employed for profit except under approved conditions."

He should delete the last four words. He shows that on the average 400,000 children leave school annually at 14 years of age, 200,000 leave before 14 years with labour certificates, and 30,000 are half-timers, and that since the war the proportion of child labour has increased.

Dr. Martin of Gloucester reports on children employed before and after school in his district, saying that they look pale, tired, and nervous. A boy of 12 years works 1 hour before school, 1 hour at midday, 4 hours after school, and 13 hours on Saturdays for 1*s.* 9*d.* per week. A boy of 11 works 2½ hours before school, 2½ hours after, and 13 hours on Saturdays. Poor child, he often falls asleep at school! For 6*d.* a week and his food another boy of 11 works 8 hours a day and 14 hours on Saturdays in and about stables. He, too, is always tired. Dr. Rolleston of Rutland states that some children are employed for 60 hours a week outside their school hours. That means a 90-hour working week! A boy of 10 years works 47½ hours a week for 3*s.* 6*d.*: he is "much behindhand in his studies." Little wonder! Dr. Rolleston complains that exemption was granted to 54 children in order that they might work and that no opportunity was given to the medical officer to examine them. Dr. Parkinson of Warwickshire reports that some child workers rise at 3.45 and 4.45 A.M. Dr. Chronnell of Hindley says:—

"The physical condition of some of the children is deplorable. A child whose heart sounds are impure rises at 4.30 A.M., and it takes him one hour to get to his work: he works one day and attends school the following day. Other children have organic heart disease; one has adenoids, enlarged tonsils, a goitre, and his mental condition is dull."

Dr. Burpett of Newport (Mon.) says:—

"Child labour is very popular with employers because it is cheap."

This is a disgraceful state of affairs. One turns with relief from this part of the report to the sections dealing with nursery schools, play centres, and open-air schools.

PRIVATE C. J. SIMMONS—an Appreciation.

He lies in gaol—the best women and men find themselves in gaol, some time or other.

He has dared insistently to tell the truth, as he knows it. But—he is only a private soldier. There are millions more, and their voices are not heard.

Officers may have freedom of speech; they may support any political game that is being played, they may even write damning criticisms of their superior officers.

The private soldier must keep his mouth shut, says the army regulations. They are not citizens, they are not allowed to be. C. James Simmons is a wounded soldier; he has been wounded three times. The last time his left leg had to be taken off just below the knee. He lay in a shell hole in France for five days, wounded.

He joined the army three years before the war—before he was a Socialist.

He is Secretary of the Midlands Section of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

I can see him now, my dear old comrade, when he first came into our Socialist Movement. A well set-up, frank-faced lad, brimful of energy and enthusiasm. What a wonderful thing is the Socialism of the new recruit! An inveterate optimist always, he believed in Christianity, preached and lived it as far as he was allowed. But—listen to his scathing denunciation of the Churches now.

He still preaches the lessons from the Sermon on the Mount, on I.L.P. platforms, but most of the Churches won't listen. Yet the open-air crowd listens; thousands listened, and came again.

But—He has helped to light a flame in England that cannot be put out.

P. D.

[Private Simmons has been released, and on October 11th was in London attending the National Meeting of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.—Editor.]

AIR RAIDS AND BABIES.

Dr. Johnson at the Mothers' Arms reports a depressing fortnight. The children brought to the clinic are suffering from lack of sleep, have lost weight, and many have got bronchitis. This is through being taken to tubes and cellars during the air-raid scare time. Such protective methods often prove to babies more dangerous than bombs.

LAST WEEK'S PAPER.

Our issue of October 6th was stopped by the police, who visited the printer and caused the paper to be destroyed and the type to be melted down. So far as we know, the authorities had not seen, and the police did not read the issue in question, and the authorities have failed to communicate with us in any way. This extraordinary action has delayed the paper, forced us to change our printer, and put us to extra expense amounting to £35. Believing that our readers will not desire the paper to be handicapped by the above we trust unusual procedure, we appeal to our readers to send along donations to cover this sum. Our readers will join with us in thanks to Mr. Francis of The Athenæum Press, who has consented to print for us at this juncture.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

THE
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To secure a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth.

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Minimum Subscription—1d. a Month.

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Hon. Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Minnie Lansbury,
Hon. Financial Secretary: Miss Norah Smyth.

Address Correspondence on:—
Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier,
W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.
"Dreadnought," Miss O'Callaghan.
Other Literature, Miss Bush.

The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions

CENTRAL OFFICE: 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3. Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays 2.30 P.M. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 A.M. to 7 P.M.

MONTESSORI SCHOOL: 10 A.M. to 2 P.M. (by appointment with Miss Muriel Matters) at the Mothers' Arms.

THE WOMEN'S HALL: 20 Railway Street (opposite South Bromley Station on the North London Railway). Mother and Infant Clinic, Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays and Thursdays at 2.30 P.M. Cost Price Restaurant, &c.

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY: Mother and Infant Clinic, Literature depot, &c. Doctors' Consultations and Baby Weighing, Friday 10.30 A.M.

COST PRICE RESTAURANT: 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3., and 20 Railway Street, Poplar.

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SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL: 20 Railway Street, Poplar. Sunday Afternoons, 3 P.M.

OUR FUNDS.

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E3.
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E3.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—W. J. Woods, Esq., £2; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20*s.* weekly), £2; Mrs. Drake, 10*s.*; Miss Florence McDonald (Peace), 1*s.* COLLECTIONS: Miss Beamish, £1 0*s.* 5½*d.*; Mrs. Walker, 19*s.*; Waterloo Road, 2*s.* 3*d.*

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Par.

FRIENDS are asked to send some strong wooden toys for the children at the Mothers' Arms.

LEEDS

LEEDS.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hunter, 7 Sugdenfold, Armley. Branch meeting, Clarion Café, Tuesdays, 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 104.

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES.

OUTDOOR.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13th.
Meetings, 3 P.M. and 8 P.M. See "Great Push."
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 A.M., Mr. L. Hogben.
"The Flagstaff," Hampstead, 11.30 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
"The Flagstaff," Hampstead, 3.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.
Finsbury Park, 3 P.M., Mrs. Bouvier.
The Square, Woolwich, 3 P.M., Ex-Inspector Syme.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20th.
Meetings, 3 P.M. and 7 P.M. See "Great Push."

INDOOR.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 15th.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 P.M., General Meeting (London Section).
Bow Women's Hall, 8.15 P.M., Mrs. Cedar Paul, 'Militarism and Birth Control.' Chair: Mrs. Bouvier.
Co-operative Hall, 144, Seven Sisters Road, N., 8 P.M., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17th.
Poplar Women's Hall, 20, Railway Street, 8.15 P.M. Mrs. Cole.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18th.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, 8.30 P.M., Ex-Inspector Syme.
Chandos Hall, 21*a*, Maiden Lane, W.C., 7.30 P.M., Miss Muriel Matters, 'Montessori.' Chair: Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky.

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FEDERATION NOTES

BIG PUSH.

ON Saturday, October 6th, a very successful Peace Meeting was held in Victoria Road. Mrs. Walker, the principal speaker, spoke upon the Pope's Move for Peace. She pointed out that he alone of all the great church leaders in Europe was following in the footsteps of Christ, the Prince of Peace. She urged all Socialists as well as all Christians to give him their support. An Australian soldier, who continually interrupted, was removed from the crowd by other soldiers. All the *Dreadnoughts* of the last issue published were sold out. A good number of Big Push leaflets was also sold, and a collection was taken for the General work of the Federation.

PEACE PICKETS.

ON Sunday afternoon, members of the Federation and friends picketed with Peace banners outside Westminster Abbey. The new banner, "Support the Pope's Move for Peace," attracted a great deal of attention. The banner, "Negotiate for Peace on the Russian Terms, no Annexations, no Indemnities," was commented upon by a little party of French people; who said, "the Germans are our enemies, but the Russians have betrayed us, they would make peace before we are prepared." They were reminded that it is not only the Russian people who are crying out for peace, it is demanded by great masses of the people in every European country. While the picket was in progress bodies of cadets were being drilled in front of the House of Commons. More sympathy was shown towards us on this occasion than at any previous time.

BRANCHES.

Meetings are held every Monday evening at 400, Old Ford Road, at 8 P.M. A very interesting series of lectures has been arranged, and we hope that members will make them known as widely as possible. Bow members are urged to attend in good time, as it is proposed to discuss Bow Branch business at the commencement of the meetings. Miss Tollemache will be present to receive subscriptions.

The Thursday evening At Homes have been transferred from the Emerson Club to 29b, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C. Copies of the Postcard Syllabus may be obtained from this Office. We wish members to use these as postcards in corresponding with friends. There will be an At Home to-day (Saturday, 13th) at 42, Forest Lane, Stratford. It is being arranged by the Leyton branch, so that members and friends may have an opportunity of meeting Miss Pankhurst. It is hoped that the children from the Bow dancing class will given an entertainment.

On Monday, Miss Pankhurst is speaking for the Holloway Branch of the W.S.F. at The Co-operative Hall, Seven Sisters Road, N. We hope that all members and friends in the district will make a point of attending. Mr. Cave, 31, Blackstock Road, Finsbury Park, N., is the Secretary.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.

THE first meeting of the Christmas Exhibition Committee will be held on Monday, October 15th, at 5 P.M., at 29*b*, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C. All members of the National Committee and Branch Secretaries are invited to attend. The programme will be drawn up and details discussed. We must appeal to our friends to support us very generously in order that it may be an unqualified success.

LEICESTER

ADULT SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE.

ON Saturday, October 6th, a Conference, convened by the Workers' National Adult Suffrage Movement, was held in the Co-operative Union Hall to discuss Adult Suffrage and the Abolition of the House of Lords. Delegates from a number of Trade Unions, Socialist and Women's Societies attended, and were addressed by Mrs. Bouvier (W.S.F.), Mr. W. Carter (N.U.R.), presiding. After an animated discussion, the following resolutions were carried:

1. That this Conference declares that the present Government Franchise measure is unsatisfactory, and that no franchise measure will be acceptable to the workers, unless it extends the franchise to every man and woman of 21, and completely abolishes all property and other forms of plural voting, and also abolishes the property disqualification.
2. This Conference decides that an Adult Suffrage Council shall be formed in Leicester to be affiliated to the Workers' National Adult Suffrage Movement. This Council to be formed of delegates from Labour, Socialist, and Adult Suffrage bodies, such delegates to form the General Council, and the executive committee to be elected by them.
3. This Conference decides that a provisional committee be elected to serve for 6 months; that this committee appoint its own officers.

A local Adult Suffrage Council, affiliated to the Workers' National Adult Suffrage Movement, was formed, the following being elected to the Provisional Committee: Secretary, Mrs. Radford (Trades Council), 82, Woodhill; Mr. Baum (Secretary, Trades Council); Mr. Gorne (Treasurer, I.L.P.); Miss Edwards (Tramway Vehicle Workers); Mrs. Smith (Tool makers). The first meeting was held on Tuesday, the 9th.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

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PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

ORGANISED BY THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION, 400 OLD FORD ROAD, E.3.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13th, LEYTON—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 2.30 p.m. at 73 CALDERON ROAD, LEYTON. Secretary for the day: Mrs. HART, 73 Calderon Road, Leyton. Speakers—Mrs. BEST, Mrs. BOUVIER, Mrs. WALKER, Mr. H. G. RUSSELL. At Home, 7.30 p.m., B.S.P. HALL, 42 Forest Lane. Speaker: Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20th, KENSAL RISE—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 10 MILMAN ROAD, WEST KILBURN, 2.45 p.m. (No. 6 Bus from Bishopsgate). Secretary for the day: Mrs. EDWARDS, 30 Clifford Gardens, N.W.10. Meetings: 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. BEST, Mrs. BOUVIER, Mrs. WALKER, Mr. H. G. RUSSELL.

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